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frequent expression during the congress. With such a spirit prevalent, with tangible, constructive work to do, and with so natural a channel as trade to operate through, it seems not unlikely that this most important working-class movement yet inaugurated may prove the means of establishing, though in a way not anticipated, the "International," of which European workingmen of the generation just passing once dreamed. There is evidence, too, that the successors of those who formed the old "International" are coming to recognize in co-operation a means to their end. In Belgium, where the working class has shown, perhaps, a greater solidarity than elsewhere, the movement has been gaining ground most rapidly and now embraces one twelfth of the total population of the country. In one *arrondissement* 43 per cent. of the population are found in a "socialist co-operative." "We have shown," said M. Zéo, that if we are socialists we are also co-operators." In France, also, M. Gide reports that the socialists who formerly disdained co-operation as *bourgeoise* have recently, with the exception of the Guesdists and the Marxists, who still remain irreconcilable, thrown themselves into the movement with vigor.

G. O. VIRTUE.

Newest England. Notes of a Democratic Traveler in New Zealand, with some Australian Comparisons. By HENRY DEMAREST LLOYD. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1900. 8vo, pp. 387.

IT must not be assumed from the subtitle and the half-tone illustrations that Mr. Lloyd has written a book of travels recording merely the impressions of a sight-seer. He went to New Zealand with a serious purpose—"to see what had been done for a higher social life, by the methods of politics, in the country in which those methods have been given the best trial." In pursuance of this intention he has evidently made a study of yearbooks and departmental reports, and even dipped into the files of parliamentary debates and extracted some of the choicest nuggets. The advantage of an investigation made on the ground shows itself in a vividness of portrayal and a wealth of illustration which, added to the author's naturally effective style, his fondness for contrast and parallel, and the inherent attractiveness of his subject, make the resulting volume decidedly readable.

There is nothing more distinctively characteristic of New Zealand than its land policy. The islands were in a fair way to become the property of a few land monopolists, until the government realized the danger of the situation and applied drastic remedies. A progressive tax was imposed upon land, and improvements were exempted, at first only to the amount of \$15,000, but later to any amount; and it was no secret that the progressive rates were intended to check monopoly. But the redistribution of land by this means, even with a 20 per cent. increase for absentee landlords, was not rapid enough to suit the New Zealanders, and the power of eminent domain was invoked to hasten the process. Large estates are purchased (it is usually unnecessary to resort to condemnation), divided up into farms of moderate size, and leased to settlers for 999 years, at 5 per cent. on the purchase price. An original settler on the public domain may also take a "lease in perpetuity" instead of a freehold, and in his case the rental is only 4 per cent. of the valuation. Among men whose capital is limited, the leasehold is naturally a popular tenure. Some portions of the Cheviot estate, purchased under the land tax law because the owners were willing to sell it below the assessed valuation, were at first offered in fee simple for cash, but they remained undisposed of until they were offered as leaseholds. Even men absolutely without money may acquire land in New Zealand. The unemployed are set to work under co-operative contracts on roads and railways, in districts where there is plenty of land, and encouraged to take up land and divide their time between working for the government and for themselves until their farms are ready to support them. "Roads are made to open lands, and lands are opened to create a demand for roads." The government will trust a man for his railroad fare and subsistence while on his way to the work it thus provides, and after he is settled on the land he can borrow from the government the money needed to keep his farm going. If a group of settlers needs a creamery or a sugar mill, the government will again come to their aid with cash and expert advice, and the product of the creamery may be sent to the government warehouse for grading and export. In short, the government does whatever can be done to give every citizen a fair start and increase his chances of success; and for those who still fail to make a decent living there are old age pensions at sixty-five. Some would call this Paternalism; Mr. Lloyd calls it Fraternalism.

The extensions of governmental functions in New Zealand and

Australia do not seem to be due to any general acceptance of socialistic doctrines. Mr. Lloyd explains them as "the natural recourse of a new people coming into existence in the midst of the modern complex industrial system." New Zealand may be said to have been almost forced into some of its most striking experiments. The government went into the life insurance business because private capital would not undertake it; and Mr. Lloyd regards the high average of life insurance as an indication that the extension of government functions has not weakened the self-reliance of the people, but has had the opposite effect. Private railroads were attempted, but failed, and were taken over by the government, at first with the intention of leasing them. Now the people are so thoroughly converted to public ownership and management, that they have even abolished the non-political commission which the Australian colonies consider a prudent expedient for keeping the railways out of politics. Public ownership does not seem to have led to the construction of needless lines, for Wellington and Auckland are not yet connected. They are frequent reductions of rates, some of which have unexpectedly resulted in increased revenues.

It seems probable that Henry George has had a greater influence than Karl Marx upon New Zealand legislation. The short-lived original land law of 1878, as Mr. Lloyd points out, was imposed before the appearance of *Progress and Poverty*; but the progress toward land monopoly continued at a rate which insured a respectful hearing for any suggested remedy. The statesmen of New Zealand seem therefore to take Mr. George's writings seriously, although they decline to become his disciples to the extent of advocating confiscation.

It is difficult, of course, for a stay-at-home American reviewer to judge of the fidelity and accuracy of a book on such a *terra incognita* as New Zealand and Australia. Another man than Mr. Lloyd would perhaps have approached the subject in a more critical, if not a more judicial, temper. Yet, while Mr. Lloyd is enthusiastic in his admiration for New Zealand institutions, a careful reader will be rather less apt to get the impression that the millennium has arrived there from his book than from that of Mr. Lusk of New Zealand.¹ Mr. Lloyd is critical enough to say in his first chapter, "There is not one of the new institutions on trial to deal with land, labor, taxation, finance and government industry which is not lame somewhere." The most he claims for New Zealand's government in general is that it is the "least bad" to be found on

¹ *Our Foes at Home*, New York, 1899.

earth ; yet the impression he leaves in most cases concerning particular institutions is that they must be positively good. The flaws he points out are such as may be found in other countries even more than in New Zealand, such as customs duties, and landlordism. The chief fault he finds with New Zealand is that its radical legislation does not go far enough, but he believes it is likely to go farther before it stops. In recording these radical measures and tendencies, Mr. Lloyd has found a particularly congenial task ; and while he has therefore over-emphasized New Zealand in comparison with Australia, it is not too much to say that he has come nearer than anyone else thus far to giving an adequate account of Australasian public economy, unencumbered with historical and political details.

MAX WEST.

Forward Movements of the Last Half Century. A glance at the more marked Philanthropic, Missionary, and Spiritual Movements characteristic of our time. By ARTHUR T. PIERSON. New York and London : Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1900. 12mo, pp. xii + 428.

DR. PIERSON has written an interesting book under a misleading title. There is room for a history of the philanthropic movements of the last half century—using the much-abused word “philanthropic” in its widest and least offensive sense—an amplification, perhaps, of Mr. Woods’ “English Social Movements ;” for this period furnishes a vast amount of uncollected material for the student of social therapeutics. Whoever assumes from the subtitle that Dr. Pierson has filled this gap will be disappointed. It is difficult to surmise what meaning the author gives to the word “philanthropic ;” he seems to have avoided nearly all the movements to which that term is ordinarily applied. One of his earlier chapters is devoted to the Oxford movement, but there is no hint of its wider influence upon social amelioration. Later, some account is given of the origin of the Salvation Army, but General Booth’s “way out” is wholly ignored, and the social work of the army in America is relegated to a footnote. A comparatively full account is given of the work of Dr. Thomas Chalmers, including the system of parish visiting which he inaugurated, and a few lines are devoted to a typical modern institutional church. Brief but enthusiastic mention is made of the social work of the Young